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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 DAR ES SALAAM 005023

GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG; NAIROBI FOR DART

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AND REFCOORD; DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA,
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ

SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE REVIEWS RWANDA AND BURUNDI

SITUATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI, AUGUST 5

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN BRIEFING PRESIDENT MWINYI ON HIS
TRIPS TO BURUNDI AND RWANDA, A/S MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT
A REGIONAL MEETING ON REFUGEES AND REFUGEE-RELATED
MATTERS BE CONVENED ON AN URGENT BASIS. REVIEW OF THE
MANY ISSUES MADE CRITICAL BY THE REFUGEE CRISIS, HE
OFFERED, COULD EVEN LEAD TO MUCH-NEEDED DISCUSSION OF
THE COMPLICATED POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH THREATEN THE
NEW GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AND THE CURRENT BURUNDI
REGIME. WITH RESPECT TO BURUNDI, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED
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IN STRONG TERMS HIS CONCERN OVER THE FRAGILITY OF THE
SITUATION THERE. END SUMMARY.

3. IN HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI AUGUST 5, A/S
MOOSE THANKED MWINYI FOR THE GOT'S COOPERATION IN
FACILITATING REFUGEE RELIEF FLIGHTS TRANSITTING
THROUGH TANZANIA AND BRIEFED THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT
ON HIS JUST-CONCLUDED TRIPS TO RWANDA AND BURUNDI
(DISCUSSION OF LIBERIA WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL). WITH
RESPECT TO CONDITIONS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN ZAIRE,
A/S MOOSE NOTED BRIEFLY THAT THE SITUATION, WHILE
STILL DIFFICULT, HAS BEGUN TO EASE IN THE PAST TWO
WEEKS, LARGELY DUE TO THE AMOUNTS OF ASSISTANCE
RECEIVED RECENTLY. DEATH RATES IN THE CAMPS ARE
DECLINING. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE UNICEF
ARE WORKING TO CONTROL FURTHER DISEASE OUTBREAKS.

4. TURNING TO RWANDA, A/S MOOSE DESCRIBED THE
DISTURBING, EERIE VIEW HE HAD RECEIVED FLYING OVER THE
COUNTRY. EVERYWHERE ONE CAN SEE HOUSES AND PLANTED
FIELDS BUT ABSOLUTELY NO PEOPLE--THE COUNTRY APPEARS
DEPOPULATED. IN KIGALI, PERHAPS ONLY 5 PER CENT OF
THE FORMER POPULATION REMAINS. THE WATER SUPPLY HAS
JUST BEEN RESTORED BUT THERE IS STILL NO ELECTRICITY,

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TELEPHONE SERVICE, BANKS, MONEY OR A FUNCTIONING CIVIL SERVICE.

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5. A/S MOOSE INFORMED MWINYI THAT IN MEETINGS WITH GOR OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER, HE CAME AWAY IMPRESSED THAT THEY ARE SINCERE ABOUT ESTABLISHING A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT TO ATTRACT
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SUPPORT. THEY ALSO RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO INSTILL A SENSE OF SECURITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY TO PERSUADE REFUGEES TO RETURN. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GOR IS SEVERELY HANDICAPPED BY ITS TOTAL LACK OF RESOURCES AND INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT. GOR RANKS INCLUDE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THE RPF VICTORY SHOULD TRANSLATE INTO THE FORMATION OF AN RPF GOVERNMENT. IN REFUGEE CAMPS OUTSIDE RWANDA, A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION AND TERRORIZATION BY FORMER MILITIA MEMBERS AND MILITARY--NOT ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN DISARMED--CONTINUES. THE DANGER OVER TIME, A/S MOOSE OBSERVED, IS THAT RECRIMINATIONS WILL BE NURTURED AMONG THOSE ELEMENTS HOPING FOR A RETURN. HE POINTED OUT THAT THESE CONSTITUTE PROBLEMS WITH NO EASY SOLUTIONS.

6. ALSO DELICATE, A/S MOOSE CONTINUED, IS THE SITUATION IN THE FRENCH ZONE. THE FRENCH ARE LEAVING AND SHOULD LEAVE BUT IT IS CRITICAL THAT THE
TRANSITION FROM OPERATION TURQUOISE TO UNAMIR PROCEED

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IN AN ORDERLY MANNER. IF NOT, THE FRENCH WITHDRAWAL
COULD TRIGGER A MASSIVE REFUGEE EXODUS WHICH COULD
OVERWHELM NOT ONLY ZAIRE, BUT EVEN MORE DANGEROUS,
DESTABILIZE BURUNDI.

7. A/S MOOSE THEN TOOK UP THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI,
WHICH HE DESCRIBED IN SOBERING TERMS. HE INFORMED
MWINYI THAT WHILE HE HAD BEEN ANXIOUS ABOUT BURUNDI
BEFORE TRAVELLING THERE, HE IS EVEN MORE CONCERNED NOW
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AFTER HIS BRIEF VISIT. THE BURUNDI SITUATION IS
EXTREMELY FRAGILE AND TENSIONS ARE RUNNING VERY HIGH.
A/S MOOSE POINTED OUT THIS DANGER IN ALL HIS MEETINGS
WITH THE GRB AND WITH OTHER POLITICAL PLAYERS.
NEVERTHELESS, THE PARTIES REMAIN LOCKED AT THE NOVOTEL
HOTEL HAGGLING OVER ARCANE ISSUES WHILE OUTSIDE, A
PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN SIMILAR TO THE RWANDA EXAMPLE,
BEGINS TO MATERIALIZE. MILITIAS ARE EXPANDING AND IN
THE INCREASED CLIMATE OF INSECURITY, PEOPLE ARE ARMING
THEMSELVES. THE ECONOMY IS PARALYZED BECAUSE OF THE
POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY; MONEY IS BEING SPENT BUT NO
FUNDS ARE COMING IN.

8. A/S MOOSE OFFERED HIS DISTURBING IMPRESSION THAT
THE CURRENT BURUNDI SCENE IS ALL TOO REMINISCENT OF
RWANDA, PRE-APRIL 6. A VERY SMALL NUMBER OF EXTREMIST
ELEMENTS ON BOTH SIDES ARE DOMINATING THE POLITICAL
DIALOGUE, BLOCKING RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS AND
APPEALING TO THE FEARS OF THE POPULATION. THE
MODERATES ARE AFRAID TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THEM. A/S
MOOSE NOTED THAT SOMETHING NEEDS TO BE DONE URGENTLY
TO OVERCOME THE IMPASSE OVER THE ISSUE OF PRESIDENTIAL
SUCCESSION AND TO ENCOURAGE MODERATE VOICES TO BE
HEARD.

9. ANOTHER FACTOR THREATENING THE PEACE IN BURUNDI IS

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THE REFUGEES IN THE FRENCH ZONE. A/S MOOSE REITERATED THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE FRENCH WITHDRAWAL PROCEED IN AN ORDERLY FASHION TO PREVENT AN INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO BURUNDI--A DEVELOPMENT WITH POTENTIALLY OMINOUS CONSEQUENCES. THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES IN ITSELF COULD

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CONTAIN THE SEEDS OF ANOTHER CYCLE OF VIOLENCE IN THE REGION.

10. THIS LEAD A/S MOOSE TO UNDERScore THAT "ALL OF US HAVE TO EXPEND EVEN MORE ENERGY AND EFFORT" TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS. HE TOLD MWINYI HE IS AWARE THAT TANZANIA IS THINKING OF HOLDING A REGIONAL MEETING ON RWANDA, A DEVELOPMENT HE ENCOURAGED. IN HIS MEETING WITH MUSEVINI, THE UGANDAN LEADER HAD AGREED IT IS URGENT FOR REGIONAL LEADERS TO COME TOGETHER TO DISCUSS WAYS TO MANAGE THESE PROBLEMS. A/S MOOSE NOTED THERE ARE DIFFERENT VIEWS OF HOW SUCH A MEETING COULD BE ORGANIZED. SOME MIGHT CALL FOR A COMING TOGETHER OF NEIGHBORING STATES, THE GOR AND PERHAPS EVEN THE RWANDAN OPPOSITION. A/S MOOSE PREDICTED THE REACTION OF THE GOR TO THIS PROPOSAL COULD BE QUITE NEGATIVE AS PASSIONS IN RWANDA ARE "STILL RUNNING STRONG."

11. MOOSE HIMSELF OFFERED THAT A MEETING ON REFUGEES AND REFUGEE-RELATED ISSUES (E.G. ON CAMP SECURITY, ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, AND DETENTION OF SUSPECTED

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CRIMINALS) IS URGENTLY NEEDED. A REGIONAL REFUGEE MEETING--INDEED ALREADY PROPOSED BY BURUNDI--CONVENED URGENTLY, PERHAPS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL IN THE NEXT TEN DAYS TO TWO WEEKS, COULD OFFER A MEANS TO ADDRESS EVEN MORE COMPLICATED ISSUES. REFUGEE RECEIVING AND SENDING COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WOULD ATTEND SUCH A SESSION--AS COULD OBSERVER STATES LIKE THE U.S. WHICH ARE INTERESTED IN THESE PROBLEMS.

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12. MWINYI CONFIRMED THE GOT IS THINKING OF CONVENING A REGIONAL SESSION. THIS PLANNING WAS INTERRUPTED EARLIER ONLY AFTER MUSEVINI LEFT FOR TRAVEL ABROAD. UPON MUSEVINI'S RETURN, NEGOTIATIONS HAD RESUMED. MWINYI, NEVERTHELESS, CONFESSED THAT "WE ARE STILL GROPING IN THE DARK." THE PROBLEM IN BURUNDI, HE CONTINUED, IS COMPLICATED BECAUSE THE ARMY THERE HOLDS THE GOVERNMENT HOSTAGE SO THAT "WHEN YOU TALK TO A GOVERNMENT PERSON, YOU TALK TO SOMEONE WHO CANNOT MAKE A DECISION." EVEN SO, TANZANIA WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO WORK WITH THE REGIONAL PARTIES. MWINYI ADDED THAT HE LIKED THE IDEA OF A MINISTERIAL MEETING WHICH COULD LEAD I NTO A REGIONAL HEADS OF STATE SUMMIT. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT MINISTERS COULD DEFINE AN AGENDA, SOMETHING NEEDED BEFORE SOLUTIONS CAN BE PROPOSED.

13. OBVIOUSLY STILL TURNING THE IDEA OVER IN HIS MIND, MWINYI COMMENTED THAT "WHILE AT LEAST YOU NOW HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA, IN BURUNDI YOU HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN A SHELL." THE SITUATION THERE IS DELICATE BECAUSE THE ARMY HAS THE GUNS AND CARE NEEDS TO BE TAKEN NOT TO ANTAGONIZE IT. MOOSE AGREED IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS THAT MIGHT INCREASE THE ARMY'S LEVEL OF ANXIETY. THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, HE SUGGESTED, COULD EVEN BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REGIONAL REFUGEE MEETING, PERHAPS IN THE CONTEXT OF

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REFUGEE SECURITY, AS A WAY TO BEGIN POLITICAL
DISCUSSIONS.

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14. MWINYI INFORMED A/S MOOSE THAT IN HIS RECENT
MEETINGS WITH THE RWANDA PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT,
THEY HAD DISCUSSED THE NEED TO PERSUADE REFUGEES TO
RETURN TO RWANDA. A WEEK LATER, THE NUMBER OF
REFUGEES INTO TANZANIA INCREASED TO 3000 A DAY. THIS
WAS CAUSED BY YOUNG TUTSIS TAKING REVENGE AGAINST THE
HUTU POPULATION. SO, HE NOTED, TANZANIA IS VERY WELL
AWARE OF THE NEED TO CREATE A SECURE ENVIRONMENT IN
RWANDA IF REFUGEES ARE TO RETURN. MOOSE AGREED AND
SAID HE HAD UNDERScoreD TO GOR LEADERS THE NEED TO
CONTROL UNDISCIPLINED ARMY ELEMENTS AND YOUNG TUTSIS
SEEKING REVENGE IF REFUGEES ARE EVER TO BE CONFIDENT
OF THE DOMESTIC SITUATION. THIS IS YET ANOTHER
CRITICAL ISSUE NEEDING TO BE DISCUSSED.

15. REPEATING ASSURANCES HE HAD MADE TO PRESIDENT
BIZIMUNGU, MWINYI TOLD A/S MOOSE TANZANIAN FORCES ARE
DISARMING THOSE ENTERING TANZANIA--UNLIKE ZAIRE. A/S
MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT IN ZAIRE THE PROBLEM IS GREATER
BECAUSE ALL THE RWANDAN MILITARY AND MILITIA REMNANTS
HAD FLED THERE. ALTHOUGH UNHCR REPORTS THAT 80-85 PER

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CENT OF THESE FORCES HAVE BEEN DISARMED, THIS STILL
LEAVES A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER WITH GUNS. FURTHER, THE
MOVE TO KEEP THE MILITARY TOGETHER AS A SEPARATE
REFUGEE GROUP, DESPITE HAVING SOME ADVANTAGES, COULD
CONCEIVABLY LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF A NUCLEUS INTENT
UPON RETURNING TO RWANDA. THUS THE QUESTION OF WHAT
TO DO ABOUT THE MILITARY PRESENTS ANOTHER ISSUE
DEMANDING URGENT ATTENTION.

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16. IN DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM OF SUSPECTED MURDERERS
IN REFUGEE CAMPS, A/S MOOSE CITED ONGOING EFFORTS AT
THE U.N. TO PASS A RESOLUTION CREATING AN
INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO TRY ACCUSED CRIMINALS. THIS
RESOLUTION MAY BE PASSED NEXT WEEK. IN ADDITION, THE
U.N. IS AWARE THAT THERE ARE PRACTICAL ASPECTS TO THE
PROBLEM. FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS CLEAR THAT SECURITY NEEDS
TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CAMPS WITHOUT PROVOKING
INSURRECTION. AGAIN, THIS IS ANOTHER URGENT ISSUE
REQUIRING ADDRESS.

17. IN ANSWER TO MWINYI'S QUESTION ABOUT CURRENT RPF
VIEWS ON CREATING A NEW ARMY, A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT
RPF COMMANDER KAGAME HAD CONFIRMED TO HIM THAT THE
ARUSHA ACCORDS PROVISION TO JOIN RPF AND GOVERNMENT
FORCES TOGETHER STILL STANDS (OF COURSE, THOSE
INVOLVED IN MASSACRES WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED INTO THE
NEW ARMY). KAGAME IS EVEN CLAIMING THAT 100-150
SOLDIERS HAVE RETURNED, INCLUDING SENIOR OFFICERS.
THE GOR HAD HINTED THAT THE 40-60 RATIO OF FORCES
AGREED TO UNDER THE ACCORDS MIGHT HAVE TO CHANGE;
NEVERTHELESS, THE RPF'S ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF
AMALGAMATION IS WELCOME.

18. MWINYI'S NEXT QUESTION CONCERNED PROPAGANDA.
MOOSE ANSWERED THAT THE HATE RADIO BROADCASTS HAVE
REPORTEDLY BEEN SILENT FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS.
UNFORTUNATELY, REMNANTS OF THE INTERHAMWE AND MILITIA
IN THE CAMPS ARE STILL INTIMIDATING AND PROPAGANDIZING
PEOPLE--MAKING THE PROBLEM EVEN MORE INSIDIOUS AND

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DIFFICULT. THE QUESTION OF HOW TO SEPARATE THESE
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ELEMENTS IS YET ANOTHER MATTER MERITING URGENT REVIEW.
19. MWINYI THEN RAISED THE ISSUE OF LAND CLAIMS.
REFUGEES RETURNING TO RWANDA AFTER MANY YEARS, HE
NOTED, ARE REPORTEDLY CLAIMING THEIR FORMER PLOTS.
A/S MOOSE REPLIED THAT THE GOR HAS ANNOUNCED IT WILL
ABIDE BY THE ARUSHA ACCORDS PROVISION STIPULATING THAT
THOSE RETURNING AFTER AN
ABSENCE OF OVER TEN YEARS ARE
NOT ENTITLED TO RECLAIM THEIR LAND. THIS WOULD BE
PUBLICLY BROADCAST. WHILE MOOSE SAID HE BELIEVES THE
GOR IS SINCERE, IT ALSO NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THAT
ENFORCEMENT OF THIS STRICTURE IS CRITICAL IF REFUGEES
ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED TO RETURN HOME.

20. AFTER PRAISING TANZANIA'S EXCELLENT STEWARDSHIP
OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS AND URGING THAT IT CONTINUE TO
PLAY ITS CRITICAL ROLE AS FACILITATOR, MOOSE TOOK THE
OPPORTUNITY TO SUGGEST BUJUMBURA AS THE SITE OF A
REGIONAL MEETING. THIS VENUE COULD HAVE THE ADDED
BENEFIT OF BRINGING A SPOTLIGHT ON INTRACTABLE PARTIES
IN BURUNDI AND RESTRAIN THEM FROM DESTABILIZING ACTS.

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GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME ALSO FOR FODAG; NAIROBI FOR DART
 AND REFCOORD; DEPARTMENT FOR AF/C, MGRW02, PRM/AAA,
 PM/ISP, IO/PHO, IO/ESA, IO/UNP, DRL/AAA
 USAID FOR AID/A, AID/BHR, AID/BHR/OFDA, AID/BHR/FFP,
 AID/PPC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: EAID, OVIP (MOOSE, GEORGE), PREL, RW, BY, TZ
 SUBJECT: A/S MOOSE REVIEWS RWANDA AND BURUNDI

UNCLASSIFIED

SITUATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI, AUGUST 5
1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

UNCLASSIFIED

PERHAPS TANZANIA COULD SEND AN ENVOY TO NEIGHBORING
STATES TO ASCERTAIN IF THEY ARE AMENABLE TO SUCH A
PROPOSAL. A/S MOOSE ADDED HE OFFERED THIS AS A
SUGGESTION ONLY. MWINYI ASSURED THE ASSISTANT
SECRETARY THAT HE AND PRESIDENT MUSEVINI REMAIN IN
CLOSE TOUCH AND WILL CONTINUE TO DISCUSS PLANS FOR A
REGIONAL MEETING.

21. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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BROWNING

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED